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AMENDING TAFT-HARTLEY
– John C. Cort

THE

Commonweal

Clericalism, Anti-Clericalism

by Frederick E. Flynn

New Forces and New Faces

by Richard C. Hottelet

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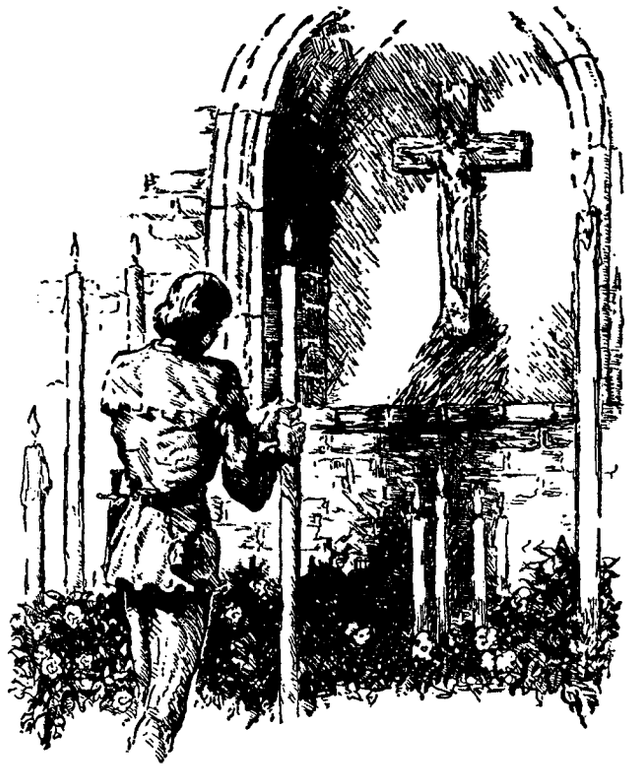

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This practice gave rise to the expression of "measuring up" to a saint.

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PURVEYORS TO THE VATICAN BY APPOINTMENT

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THE Commonweal

week by week

PEACE IN OUR TIME

THIS year the hope that surges up at Easter has found an echo in a new promise of world peace. A series of gestures on the part of Stalin's successors is bewildering in its variety and sweep. Within the Soviet empire there are widespread amnesties for lesser offenders, lower prices, the freeing of doctors held for political crimes, and certain indications of a slackening in the war against religion.

In Korea the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners is followed by promising negotiations on general repatriation—the issue upon which truce negotiations foundered several months ago. In Europe a conference following the shooting down of Allied airmen may even lead to a Four-Power parley on a general German settlement. An astonishing cordiality is in the air. A decree that British and American embassies in Moscow would have to move to new quarters has been countermanded. A small group of American newsmen was granted permission to visit the USSR and received a warm welcome.

Some change is also noted at the UN, where the Soviet Union has approved the appointment of a Swedish Secretary-General. Soviet anti-Semitism appears to be on the wane. Russia has offered important new concessions on the long-debated issue of control of atomic weapons.

It is too early to perceive how far the Soviet is prepared to go. For if the thorny Korean war prisoner issue reaches settlement and a truce is finally achieved in Korea, a further issue remains. What would be the status of Korea in the ensuing peace treaty? The Koreans themselves want their land to be reunited. They are already demonstrating against any settlement which would leave their country cut in half. And the UN itself is on record in support of a restored and reunited independent Korea.

Germany offers somewhat a parallel case. Is the Soviet Union, under its present leadership, willing to permit genuinely supervised and free elections in the Eastern Zone? Even then the relationship of a reunited Germany to "Little Europe" is unprovided for. Again, would the USSR actually come to permit the degree of international inspection within its own borders that would be required for effective atomic energy control? Certain observers here and overseas deny that current gestures of conciliation justify any such speculations now.

WILLINGNESS to discuss such issues would represent a major change in Soviet tactics. If whatever negotiations should ensue were to be marked by a novel Soviet disposition toward give-and-take, a new willingness to make major concessions, the cold war as we have known it would subside. The Allies' temptation would then be to make big concessions of their own—if not to bargain away the interests of the weaker nations—in order to arrive at a general settlement.

In the background stands the avowed and persistent Communist objective of world domination. This has yet to be repudiated. With the passing of the years and the disappearance of the founding revolutionists, Russian Communism has lost much of its original dynamism. Yet Soviet Russia has grown enormously in prestige and in military strength, while the revolutionary situations in colonial and other lands have multiplied. So that political vacuums on the periphery of the Soviet Empire and the objective of eventual domination would in any case remain.

But if the new Soviet regime were actually to offer peaceful coexistence in practical terms, there would be no choice but to accept. If we are alert to our responsibilities, there is no reason why such a period could not work to our advantage. Whether it be on the terrain of scientific development or of respect for human liberties, we would have little to fear from peaceful competition with the Soviets. Moreover, a peaceful interval would permit the tremendous development programs, which are barely beginning in many lands under American and UN auspices, to reach a stage where they will directly reach the hitherto disinherited of the earth.

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Much as a peaceful interval would complicate the problems of the American economy, time would be on our side—provided we work with vision and persistence.

There are many reasons, then, to welcome the shift in Russian tactics. Recognizing it for what it is and holding fast to our immediate and long-term political objectives—including unequivocal respect for human rights—we should be amenable to serious negotiations. It would be a mistake to read too much into this flock of conciliatory Soviet gestures. Yet it is well worth seeing whether acceptable agreement can be reached on enough key points to assure an interval of peaceful coexistence for the world to bind up its wounds.

NEXT STEP

WALTER Reuther has a way of making the unlikely happen. For years, mass-production industries like automobile manufacturing were considered impossible to organize. Now the auto plants are solidly organized, and the United Automobile Workers today join the United Steel Workers to form the backbone of the CIO. In this work of organization and over the years since, Walter Reuther played a significant part. Even before his recent election as president of the CIO, Reuther was a man to reckon with. Today, even when Reuther speaks as president of the Auto Workers, one cannot forget that he is also the national head of the CIO. For that reason, Reuther's recent announcement that achieving a guaranteed annual wage has become the prime goal of the Auto Workers is a matter of great importance.

In an industry like automobile manufacture, the task of securing an annual wage will not be easy. Such plans have been successful elsewhere, but they have never been applied to an industry in which the problems are quite as great as in this case. Nevertheless, the hurdles should not be insuperable, and Mr. Reuther has enlisted plenty of competent consultants in drawing up the UAW's demands.

Present contracts in the auto industry expire in the spring of 1955. By that time the union intends to have its proposed annual-wage plan ready for inclusion in the bargaining sessions. A tentative blueprint to fit the auto industry has already been worked out, and ten of the nation's top economists have agreed to study the plan and to work out detailed recommendations for its improvement.

At the present time, UAW contracts like that between the union and General Motors serve as models which set the style for similar contracts all over the country. Success for the UAW in its present drive for a guaranteed annual wage might well lead to similar widespread imitation in other industries. Such a development would meet a real need and would benefit worker, businessman and the nation as a whole. Even though there will be many problems to be worked out, it is to be hoped that industry will not erect any unnecessary roadblocks in the path of this very real achievement.

NEXT WEEK

CHESTER BOWLES writes about the key to peace in Asia.

"Any belief that military power alone, without regard to the people of Asia *as people,* can solve the problems of Asia is not only wishful thinking, it is dangerous thinking—because it is doomed to failure. As I have traveled north and south across India in the last seventeen months, and throughout Southeast Asia, I have become convinced that the key to Asian peace lies where we have looked and worked for it least: among the people of Asia. It lies in our ability to convince Indians, Burmans, Thais, Indonesians, Filipinos, Japanese and other Asians that we come not to conquer but to encourage; that what we do is done not from blind fear of Communism but from faith in democracy and the ability of the Asian people to make democracy work in Asia."

THE BRICKER CHALLENGE

LAST January some liberal talk was heard about Republican plots to push us back to the Harding-Coolidge era. In mid-April it is obvious how foolish such talk was: we now see that the Eisenhower Administration has no intention of pushing us anywhere.

For the Administration to date has been nothing if not cautious. So fearful has it seemed of offending Republican factions in Congress that on some key issues it has apparently decided to keep its opinions to itself. This reticence has been successful in the sense that almost everybody still loves the President, but there have recently been suggestions that some real leadership from the Executive might be welcome too.

Senator John Bricker, for example, has complained about the President's failure to state his detailed views on the controversial Bricker Amendment to limit the treaty-making powers of the Executive and the Senate. For though Mr.

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Eisenhower indicated some reservations about the wisdom of this proposal, he refused to spell out his objections to it. The news that Secretary of State Dulles will appear before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee to state the Administration's considered position is therefore welcome news.

The Bricker Amendment represents a narrow and nationalistic philosophy of international relations. Its adoption would be destructive of effective United States participation in the United Nations or in any other world organization. We therefore hope that by the time this editorial appears Mr. Dulles will have presented a strong case against it.

The Administration's attitude on this question is, in many ways, a test of its basic intentions in the area of our foreign policy. In this test the sacrifice of a vigorous leadership to considerations of party "harmony" would be especially tragic. Harmony is fine, but it is no adequate substitute for an enlightened policy—and that is what is needed here.

AGGRESSION IN BURMA

BURMA is a small country on the Bay of Bengal, wedged between India, Thailand and Communist China. The independence it won after the war has been threatened by Communists and native extremists. By a series of small internal wars of pacification (consuming forty per cent of the national budget) the moderate socialist democracy of the nation has survived, and there has been reason to hope that as the government's accomplishments and assurance increased, peace would come to Burma's harassed people. There was reason to hope that Burma would prove to be an example of democracy in Asia, and as such, an implicit ally of the United States. To this end, the United States has contributed thirty-one million dollars in economic and Point Four aid since 1950.

In 1949, Chinese Nationalist General Li Mi was driven out of China's Yunnan Province by the Communists. He withdrew his troops to Burma, and set up a base there.

During the following years, not very much was heard of Li Mi. It seems that he established fairly close communication with Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan. He flew to Taiwan several times. He obtained weapons and supplies and reorganized his force. It has been charged that the American Central Intelligence Agency had a hand in this. At any rate, Li Mi got supplies and he got American-made weapons, and he made some forays into China —unsuccessful forays.

In the meantime, the Burmese government grew more and more unhappy with Li Mi. In 1951 and 1952, Burma repeatedly asked Chiang to get Li Mi out. Burma offered to let Li Mi's troops pass through Burma to the sea, or to Thailand.

Requests that American influence be used on Chiang Kai-shek were made to Washington. The American ambassador in Rangoon, William V. Seabald, urged Washington to act. When the Republicans assumed office, Mr. Seabald renewed his plea, but Republican Washington proved to be as deaf, as helpless, or as obtuse on this matter as Democratic Washington had been.

Neither Chiang nor the American government moved, but Li Mi acted. Last December his troops, which had been raiding the nearby countryside, came into direct combat with the Burmese army.

That was the end of the line for the Burmese government. They had been extremely suspicious of the new Administration in Washington, and their doubts were multiplied by new U.S. aid to Chiang, much of which had a way of ending up in North Burma. So Burmese officials, late in March, politely requested the United States to stop its mutual assistance operations in Burma. At the same time, Burma prepared to bring charges of aggression in the UN against Nationalist China. And it assigned moral responsibility for Chiang's action to the United States.

On March twenty-fifth, the Burmese army killed three white men who were small-arms instructors with Li Mi's army. They may have been German adventurers, or independent soldiers of fortune, but one was carrying papers with New York and Washington addresses, and Burmese popular opinion is convinced that the dead were Americans.

The truth in this matter is hard to find. It would seem a plausible theory that the American CIA supported Li Mi in the beginning, seeing him as a promising threat to Communist China, and later dropped him when he failed to regain territory in China. What is not explained, and is barely comprehensible, is why, during two years of protests from Burma and warnings from the American diplomats on the scene, Li Mi and his men were not got out of Burma.

Even if this surmise is wrong, and America had nothing to do with Li Mi, it is evident that the United States *could* have ended the problem by strong representations to Chiang Kai-shek. Either way, there was a grave failure in the State Department, for which the Democratic Administration is primarly accountable, with certain post-inauguration assistance from the GOP. It is a costly failure, for this inept episode has enormously increased the Indian and Burmese conviction that Americans are interested in Asians only as pawns, and care more for anti-Communism than for self-determination.

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AIN'T NECESSARILY SO

IN Mr. Paul Blanshard's letter to The Commonweal [*April 10*], he describes the issues involved in his attempt to secure the revocation of Archbishop O'Hara's American citizenship as "a fairly simple case of (1) serving two masters; (2) equal justice under law."

Archbishop O'Hara serves as Papal Nuncio to Ireland. Mr. Blanshard, quoting the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* says that as a nuncio the Archbishop "is vested with both political and ecclesiastical powers." "If he were a purely religious representative," Mr. Blanshard adds, "he would be called an Apostolic Delegate instead of a Papal Nuncio."

Mr. Blanshard labels my statement that Archbishop O'Hara is doing ecclesiastical work in Ireland as "to say the least, disingenuous," pointing out that the nuncio is a "full-blown diplomat with the rank of ambassador, and he is the dean of the diplomatic corps in Ireland." The archbishop, Mr. Blanshard adds, "takes precedence over the United States Ambassador to the Republic, not as a priest but as the representative of a foreign state." He also describes Archbishop O'Hara as being bound by ties of allegiance to "his sovereign," presumably the Pope.

What are the facts? As Mr. Blanshard must know from reading the *Catholic Encyclopedia* article he refers to, and as Vatican spokesmen again made clear some weeks ago, a papal nuncio does not represent Vatican City, the sovereign state—he represents the Holy See and the Pope as head of the Roman Catholic Church, and "only in regard to exclusively religious and ecclesiastical questions," as the Vatican press office explained.

It is true that Pius XII is not only head of the Church but Sovereign of Vatican City, yet governments can distinguish between the two offices, even though Mr. Blanshard may find it difficult. For instance, the British Ambassador in Washington represents Queen Elizabeth II as Sovereign of Great Britain and not as head of the Established Church.

If Archbishop O'Hara were authorized to represent the Pope only in dealings with the Church in Ireland, he would be called an apostolic delegate. Canon Law describes the competence of apostolic delegates thus: observing and reporting on the condition of the Church in the territory assigned them. It adds that an apostolic delegate "is not accredited to a civil government." Apostolic delegates are not vested with "political powers"—that is, they are not authorized to deal with governments, nor do the governments officially accept them as representatives of the Pope. But whether papal nuncio or apostolic delegate, the work is ecclesiastical—it is the Church and the Pope who are represented, not the political government of Vatican City.

As a representative of the Church, Archbishop O'Hara is accredited to the diplomatic corps in Dublin, with the rank and privilege of Ambassador. Since the Congress of Vienna (1814), the diplomatic representatives of the Church have taken precedence over those who represent temporal governments and are granted the courtesies usually enjoyed by the oldest member of the corps—the dean. Such precedence is granted by the corps itself, not by the accrediting government.

These are the facts of the case. In Mr. Blanshard's own words, by the McCarran Act an American "who serves a foreign state outside United States territory in a post involving formal allegiance to that state" forfeits his American citizenship. On the basis of these provisions of the law, Mr. Blanshard, again using his own word, hopes to "reach" Archbishop O'Hara.

I think here Mr. Blanshard is a victim of his own wishful thinking because (1) Archbishop O'Hara does not serve a foreign state; (2) his post does not involve formal allegiance to Vatican City.

"The legal aggregate known as the Vatican is either a foreign state, or it is not a foreign state," Mr. Blanshard says in his letter to The Commonweal. Basing his argument on this drastic either/or, he proceeds to insist that any representative of the Pope must represent a "foreign state."

The word "Vatican" does not lend itself to such a facile choice about its meaning. Webster's dictionary, for instance, has two entries, one under "Vatican" and the other under "Vatican City." The first is described as: *the Pope's palace and assemblage of buildings at Rome beside the Church of St. Peter; elliptically, the papal authority or government* (an ellipsis that Mr. Blanshard himself has been capable of when it suited his convenience). The second is described as: *the independent papal state, established in 1929 in Rome.* This independent state, incidentally, is not co-terminous with the Vatican; it includes several other buildings in other parts of the city.

I am not sure just what Mr. Blanshard has in mind when he speaks of "the legal aggregate known as the Vatican." If he means *Vatican City,* that is how it is known, not merely as the Vatican. Any aggregate that includes more than this City or less is *not* a foreign state.

It is to Vatican City that ambassadors are sent by many nations of the world. According to the Lateran treaty such ambassadors enjoy the protection of the little sovereign state in the middle of Rome. But to say this is not to say that Archbishop O'Hara or any other papal nuncio represents Vatican City, the sovereign state. It doesn't necessarily follow. That phrase, incidentally, just about sums up the criticism that might be made of Mr. Blanshard's total study of Catholicism.

JOHN COGLEY.

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Clericalism, Anti-Clericalism

AS PART OF ITS OWN BATTLE-SCARRED VOCABULARY, THE NINETEENTH CENTURY HAS LEFT US "CLERICAL" AND "ANTI-CLERICAL."

FREDERICK E. FLYNN

WHILE the term "clericalism" came into prominence only in the latter half of the nineteenth century—and even then more on the Continent than elsewhere—the fact that it signifies is as ancient and as universal as the priesthood itself. It is not peculiar to Christianity, and even less to Catholicism: the Brahmans of Indian with their caste privileges, the medieval popes holding kings in vassalage, Calvin with his theocratic rule of Geneva. It is not only this historical and cultural indeterminacy of the phenomenon itself which accounts for the ambiguity of the term, for clericalism is a many-faceted gem having political, moral, sociological, and even psychological faces.

To add further to the semantic confusion is the unfortunate fact that "clericalism" is often loosely used as a vague term of reproach, and as such more properly belongs in the growing glossary of discredited and pointless epithets. It should be made clear at this point, before attempting any definitions, that the existence of clericalism at various times is an indisputable fact, and not merely a phantom creation of disordered minds. Father J. Lecler, S.J., has warned: "Clericalism is not a myth, woven out of whole cloth, by the adversaries of the Church."

Since clericalism takes so many diverse forms, it is obvious that no single definition will satisfy. We might well begin with its most conspicuous and devastating form—political clericalism. This species may be defined as the *claim of ecclesiastical authorities to exclusive control over those matters which properly belong to the adequate competence of the State.* The validity of this definition is in no way affected by the motives of the ecclesiastical authorities involved; it matters not whether their intentions spring from a lust for personal power, or from genuine concern for the good of the Church; political clericalism is essentially an illegal usurpation of power, a violation of strict justice, which no motive, however good, can justify.

On the other hand, the popular formula, "the Church should not mix in politics," is somewhat equivocal and is by no means identical with the definition just given. To appreciate this we might look more closely at the words "exclusive" and "adequate competence" in the definition, for they are of capital importance, inasmuch as they emphasize two salient facts in the proper relationship between Church and State. The first is that Church and State are two distinct societies, the one supernatural and supra-temporal, the other natural and temporal, each with its own end and own means. The second is that, despite their distinct spheres of influence, there are some aspects of human behavior over which the control of Church and of State overlap: while the supernatural and the natural are distinct, they are so inextricably woven together in the daily life of the Christian that they cannot be separated; in this life those actions whose end is supra-temporal nevertheless take place in time.

Thus, we have those "mixed" cases which are the joint concern of both Church and State. Because marriage is a natural union as well as a sacramental state the Church does not have exclusive right over marriage legislation, and because it is a sacramental state as well as a natural union absolute control over marriage exceeds the adequate competence of the State. This "mixed" situation is equally apparent in the case of education, which is the proper function not only of the Church and of the State but of the family as well. (It is this last fact, by the way, which both Church and State, despite their official denials, tend at times to forget). What makes such cases more complicated in fact

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than in theory is that those same persons who are ruled by canon law and civil law are at the same time, though in different respects, members of two distinct societies.

APART from respecting their diverse legislative relationships toward their own members, ecclesiastical and civil authorities must respect each other's integrity and autonomy as governing bodies. Such reciprocal respect is but the minimum requirement for the adequate exercise of their respective authority: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God, the things that are God's." Granted that the Church's end is supra-temporal, the fact remains that the Church Militant must operate in a temporal and human society. Every schoolboy knows this under the more familiar formula: the Church is both a divine and a human institution. However, its human institutional features, unlike those of civil society, are not ends in themselves but are subordinated to its divine mission. If the Pope is the vassal of no civil power it is because that is one of the exigencies of his role as Vicar of Christ. This is at once the minimum and maximum justification for the existence of the Vatican State as an independent civil power.

The political activity of some of the medieval popes was quite another matter. Innocent III's formula, "The Lord gave Peter the rule not only over the universal church, but also rule over the whole world," was apparently based on the assumption that Christ gave Peter not only the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, but the keys of every earthly kingdom as well. This is an expression of political clericalism in its purest form and was to be repudiated three centuries later by the great Spanish Dominican theologian, de Vitoria, in his treatise, *On the Power of the Church.*

The popular formula, "The Church should not mix in politics," is true when it applies to those situations where the Church seeks civil power for its own sake, or where it seeks such power for its own temporal advantage exclusively. This is clericalism properly defined. The formula is false if it implies that the Church must not pass moral judgment on those political or economic activities which seriously threaten the spiritual good of mankind; it is likewise false if it means that the Church may not defend itself against those civil powers who would tamper with those of its temporal institutions which are the proper instruments for carrying out its divine mission.

In short, it was one thing when Gregory VII brought Henry IV to Canossa for the latter's habit of lay investiture and attempts to depose the Pope, and quite another when Innocent III held half the crowned heads of Europe in vassalage. This overt political clericalism is no longer a widespread phenomenon, though Father Lecler warns that "certain contemporary conceptions of the 'Christian State' risk reintroducing into the relations between the two powers a sort of 'clerical' domination." It might also be added that more subtle forms of political clericalism are still in evidence: there are situations where Church authorities support reactionary regimes apparently from the pious but naive belief that such regimes are dedicated to the preservation of the Church's integrity. Such clericalism only scandalizes Christians and delights Communists, who have been quite successful at interpreting the union of Church and State to mean the cynical cooperation of co-exploiters.

There is a kind of clericalism somewhat analogous to the foregoing type inasmuch as it also involves an unlawful claim to authority. The contest here is between the proper disciplinary authority of the Church in matters of morals and the proper authority of the individual conscience (it matters not whether the individual conscience concerned is that of a layman or of a person in religion: thus, this is the one species of clericalism whose victim is not necessarily a layman). This sort of clericalism, then, is a kind of moral despotism whose consequences are a legalistic morality and individual irresponsibility.

Let it be emphasized that where is a man's bishop there is his Church; let it also be emphasized that every pastor is the bishop's lawful deputy. In every diocese the bishop is the only official interpreter of Canon Law and Apostolic Constitutions, and in every parish the pastor together with his assistants are the only official bearers of their bishop's rulings in canonical matters.

Consequently, no layman—or unauthorized individual priest, for that matter—may lawfully interpret Canon Law for himself or others. For example, only the bishop can declare certain hardship cases exempt from fasting laws. However, the *ultimate* decision as to what constitutes a hardship for himself properly belongs to the person seeking the exemption. He alone knows his own condition, circumstances of work, etc., and he must follow the dictates of his own conscience for which he alone will be responsible before God. If the duly constituted authority goes beyond the interpretation of the law to the concrete application of the law he enters where he does not belong—into the forum of another's conscience. It is one thing for the priest by preaching, or private exhortation, or in the confessional, to help the penitent form a right conscience, but it is something else again for the priest to make a judgment of conscience for him, as Pius XII has pointed out in a recent allocution. Encumbering reasonable laws with innumerable and ridiculous lawlets is ever the mark of the authoritarian.

OTHER forms of clericalism are more difficult to define since they do not have clear legal aspects.

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For the same reason they do not necessarily and always violate justice. They are, nevertheless, just as real and perhaps far more widespread. If the two former species of clericalism have been defined as the abuse of clerical *power,* the kinds subsequently described may be defined generally as the abuse of the clerical *state.*

There is a rather common notion, held both by the clergy and the laity, that the religious life is the life of perfection, and that the lay life is the life of imperfection. This does not mean that the notion is assented to as a formal dogma. There was a time when it was so proposed as a doctrine, but the proposition was condemned as heretical in the seventeenth century. Rather, the difficulty comes from confusing *imperfect* and *less perfect*; the orthodox formula is that the lay life is *less perfect.* Nor is this mere verbal quibbling, for there is a vast difference between that which is *imperfect* and that which is *less perfect*: a five-tube radio is not so good as an eleven-tube model, but it does perform its function. Yet the false identity between *imperfect* and *less perfect* is so ingrained in Catholics of all ranks that a total opposition is unwittingly set up between the terms, "religious life" and "lay life." In the sense that "religious life" connotes the relationship which must hold between every creature and his Creator, then every Christian is called to *a* religious life, though not necessarily to *the* "religious life."

Yet it is no uncommon practice for teachers and parents alike to encourage every talented and pious boy or girl to become a priest or nun. While it is a most laudable practice to foster vocations to the priesthood or sisterhood, the very way in which it is done leaves implications which are rather disconcerting. Though unexpressed as such, the tacit notion seems to be that intellectual and moral mediocrity are the proper qualifications for, and the evident signs of, a vocation to the lay state. Many a layman can recall his own examples of such clericalism: the layman whose priest friends are bewildered when he embarks on the vocation of teaching philosophy instead of getting "a decent, and better paid, job with Ford's"; the layman who writes on subjects touching theology and then has mail addressed to him "Rev.," the assumption being that anyone who is interested in such topics could not possibly be a plain "Mr."

In their dealings with the laity, clergy and religious frequently show a prodigious innocence of what, in this day of professional cant, is called good public relations, or in less ponderous idiom, common courtesy. This is the non-toxic, or merely irritating, form of clericalism. Accustomed to marks of deference from the laity who salute the office, these clergy complacently accept them as well-earned personal tributes. This type of clericalist might well take stock of standard military procedure: when an enlisted man salutes a superior officer the officer must return the salute. To return the salute of a layman is not demeaning for the priest; by doing so, rather, he himself salutes that which is in him but not of him, that which is higher than the layman or himself—his sacerdotal power.

This same clerical insensitivity shows up in the tendency to exercise spiritual functions under conditions which seem to be determined more by the principle of clerical convenience than by any principle of the laity's need. There is a tendency in this type of clericalist to forget that while the Pope refers to himself as the Supreme Pontiff, in so far as he is the Vicar of Christ, he also makes ample use of his other, and equally official, title as the prototypical pastor of souls—"the Servant of the servants of God." In all justice, however, it should be added that such attitudes probably spring more often, if not always, from insouciant ignorance than from any deliberate malice. However unconscious and indeliberate, these attitudes add up to a kind of professional bias, to a perverted *esprit de corps.*

Again in all fairness, it must be admitted that this kind of heedless clericalism does not necessarily originate with the clergy themselves, but may come as well from certain attitudes of the laity. In any human organization the causal lines between arrogance and obsequiousness are not always clearly drawn. Obsequiousness in a subordinate may frequently bring about arrogance in a superior. In communities that are culturally primitive, the priest is not only priest, but lawyer, art critic, and arbiter of elegance in general. Nor does he necessarily arrogate these additional competencies to himself; quite often his uneducated flock confers such honorary degrees on him in virtue of the authority invested in them by ignorance. If it is true that in the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed is king, it is equally true that the subjects may believe that their king has three eyes.

THE foregoing analysis of the nature and varieties of clericalism does not necessarily make the task of isolating the various forms of anti-clericalism an easy one. If anything, anti-clericalism is an even more complex phenomenon than clericalism. To begin with, the term itself has for the most part an opprobrious connotation from the fact that it came into popular usage in the midst of peculiar historical circumstances. The nineteenth century witnessed the birth of that great enemy of religion: secularism. Unfortunately, the protagonists of secularism joined forces with other groups and the whole movement marched under the one banner of liberalism. The result was that the disarmingly innocent term "liberalism" cast an aura of simplicity over one of the most complex movements that has ever appeared in history. It suggested a homogeneity that was totally at variance with the hetero-

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geneity of the realities it embraced. Liberalism was at once a theological, political, economic, and sociological phenomenon whose several aspects had quite different historical roots. These disparate elements became so tightly interwoven that it was almost impossible at that time to unravel them.

Some of the strands represented genuine human aspirations, justifiable revolts against long-enduring injustices. In the political order they represented rebellion against absolutist monarchies; in the economic order, rebellion against the monstrosities of burgeoning industrialism; in the social order, rebellion against the stratified class system which had retained the cadaverous forms of feudalism long since emptied of their vivifying spirit. In short, much of the nineteenth century liberalism struck real blows for real freedom.

The unfortunate thing was that many sincere liberals of that day (as now?) kept their eyes so steadily and painfully on the target that the edges of the bull's-eye became blurred: the arrows which they aimed at abusive authority frequently went wide of the mark and ended up riddling genuine authority instead. One of the disastrous results was that abusive authority in matters temporal was confusedly identified with genuine authority in matters spiritual. This is the only context in which Pius IX's condemnation of liberalism can be adequately interpreted.

This also is the historical context in which the term "anti-clericalism" came into being, for "anti-clericalism" soon became almost synonomous with "liberalism." Whether the term was invented by the opponents of liberalism as a term of opprobrium, or whether it was adapted by the liberals themselves as a glorious battle-cry, matters not. The fact remains that almost all liberals regarded the Catholic hierarchy especially as brothers-in-arms of the most brutal defenders of political and economic despotism—and in some instances, at least, the identification was probably not wholly groundless. The definition given in the Oxford dictionary seems to bear this out: "the chronic insurrection of the clergy, *their hostility to republican institutions* [italics mine], their defense of national supremacy is what is called in France 'clericalism.' "

It is precisely these historical ambiguities that make it difficult in our day to isolate the various forms of anti-clericalism; consequently, the first approach to the problem would seem to be purely a semantic one. To one wholly innocent of the diversity of the facts which it signifies, the term "anti-clericalism" would simply suggest any attitude antithetical to clericalism. Let this stand as a definition of what may be called authentic anti-clericalism. This type of anti-clericalism would then appear to be as old as clericalism itself. Thus, whenever or wherever political clericalism arises it is normal to find a corresponding form of authentic anti-clericalism.

Far from being a vice, this kind of anti-clericalism is a virtue, for it represents simply a firm stand against injustice. True political anti-clericalism is found only in the heroically courageous, and as a consequence is rarer than is usually supposed. Witness the cases of Lord Acton and Montalembert, who were by no means in complete agreement with their lay contemporaries and who were regarded as no less suspect by their fellow Catholics. Furthermore, this type of anti-clericalism is in no way confined to the laity. In fact, the best political anti-clericalists are often themselves clergy, since their competence in theology gives them a particular advantage in distinguishing properly between the ecclesiastical and the secular powers — de Vitoria, Lacordaire.

THE second type of authentic anti-clericalism is represented by the revolt against excessive authoritarianism in the domain of morals. In this class belong all those who oppose a purely casuistical approach to moral problems. ("A mile and a quarter walk constitutes a hardship sufficient to justify exemption from the eucharistic fast." No question as to how infirm the walker, how robust the weather, etc.—circumstances normally known only by the individual concerned.) In short, here are found all those who defend the right of the individual conscience against excessive claims of external authority; who, knowing the proper rights of each, keep a decent balance between them. This is the kind of anti-clericalism Christ displayed in his fulminations against the Pharisees, the moral legalists of His day.

Displays of arrogance in a superior quite normally arouse fierce resentment in the subordinate, who rightly feels that the superior's attitude violates his dignity as a human person, that his obligation to show obedience calls forth in the superior a corresponding obligation to show benevolence. When the offending superior is a cleric, this resentment expresses itself in a form of anti-clericalism. Unlike the other forms of anti-clericalism this kind is not necessarily a virtue. Since it is essentially an emotional reaction, its morality is determined by the amount of unreasonableness which enters into it. When it is a vice, its viciousness depends on the extent to which it moves from mild resentment to fierce hatred. This anti-clericalism then becomes simply a violation of charity. However understandable, this emotional anti-clericalism is not morally defensible . . . "he hit me first."

Quite another matter is the kind of anti-clericalism which is a commentary on the gap between the ideal behavior of priests and their real conduct. It is quite reasonable for the laity to expect that those who have dedicated their lives to God should, as a normal thing, be models of virtue. When the person in religion is

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something less than that, it is normal for the laity to be scandalized. The medieval cry, "I can believe anything except that those bishops will go to heaven," may scandalize most of us now by its intemperance, but it only reflected the effect that the dissolute lives led by some of the hierarchy at the time had on the lower clergy and laity.

At the same time, the laity might recall that, although the priest as the anointed of God should exhibit heroic virtue, his ordination has not removed the consequences of Original Sin. To see a priest violating a moral law may scandalize the laity but it should not surprise them, for these are the faults of weak human nature. However, constantly and publicly calling attention to clerical misdemeanors is mean and uncharitable. It is pharisaical anti-clericalism.

On the other hand there have been times when clerical behavior has become a public scandal demanding public criticism. Witness then the criticism of St. Thomas More, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Popes Gregory VII and Innocent III and many others. Witness also Christ's oblique criticism of the Levite in the parable of the Good Samaritan. This kind of anti-clericalism is identical with what those in religious life are wont to call "fraternal correction." Seen as such it is most certainly not a vice, but it is a rather slippery virtue.

True fraternal correction requires more courage and real Christian charity than most examiners of the clerical conscience possess; it has to be prudently administered, which is to say that there is a proper time and place for it so that greater scandal will not ensue; it has to be administered for genuinely charitable motives, which is to say that the corrector has to stifle in himself any human tendency to even internal suspicions of his own moral superiority. Briefly, this kind of anti-clericalism is best left to saints.

THE foregoing analysis exhausts the various kinds of authentic anti-clericalism. The types to be now considered constitute what might be called bogus anti-clericalism. The first of these takes the form of compensatory anti-clericalism. This is nothing more than the defense mechanism set up by the individual to distract his own and others' attention from his own failings. A common psychological phenomenon, it is not peculiar to clergy-laity relations, for it will show itself wherever there is a relationship of superior to subordinate. Let a parent, a teacher, an army officer exercise his lawful and prudent authority and there will be always some of his respective subordinates who will gather in little knots to work off their petty resentments: little boys in their packing-case clubhouses, students in their beer-halls, privates in their barracks. So long as this kind of anti-clericalism is casual, sporadic, and unorganized it is not especially dangerous.

However, once this compensatory anti-clericalism loses its informal character and begins to take on the character of a highly organized group, then it becomes an entirely different phenomenon. It now becomes a movement, a revolt against all legitimate ecclesiastical authority. It may retain the same name but the thing has changed: anti-clericalism now becomes laicism. What distinguishes laicism from all other forms of anti-clericalism, be they authentic or bogus, is that it is essentially a doctrine. Its different historical expressions are but variations of this simple dogma: there is no priesthood. What so many throughout history have failed to see in their enthusiasm for reform and intemperate zeal is that attempts to extend the status of priesthood to all the faithful usually ends up in destroying the very concept of the priesthood itself—a concept which is at the very core of the whole Christian doctrine of the Redemption. Every time there is a *popular* movement to purify and reform clerical morals the result is something else not intended: unchecked, pharisaical anti-clericalism becomes laicism.

The consequences of laicism in our time have not only been disastrous for the Church, but, what is less evident, for the State as well. In large part, laicism is looked upon as being practically identical with secularism, yet there is one profound difference between them. It is a commonly held opinion among theologians that the reason for Lucifer's Fall was that God gave him a revelation of His Son made Man and that Lucifer in his pride could not bow his glorious angelic intellect before the Incarnate Word. In short, Lucifer's "I will not serve" was the first example of laicism, the rejection of Priesthood Himself. The consequence was a hideous new kingdom over which the Devil will reign forever. Thus, while laicism and secularism may have the same theological consequences, they will have different political consequences: laicism and secularism, alone or together, can lead man to Hell hereafter, but laicism alone can lead man to hell here and now—the diabolical state.

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Amending Taft-Hartley

THERE comes a time in the life of every labor columnist when he finds it necessary to write about the Taft-Hartley Act. This seems to be such a time since committees of both the House and Senate have been hearing testimony on amendments to the Act.

This is a painful subject. The Act is so long and complex that it would take most of the pages of this magazine just to describe its major features.

It is hard enough to remember what is in the Act. It is harder to appreciate the hidden angles of what is in the Act. It is harder still to make people understand what is wrong with the Act and all its hidden angles.

This piece will concentrate on a few major points. One, the question of enforcement. We have seen in these pages how the Textile Workers and other unions have gone into the South and got bogged down in a quicksand of T-H legalisms, red tape and plain ordinary delay. "Justice deferred is justice denied," in cases like these. The employers beat them too often, not with superior arguments or even superior strength, but with batteries of lawyers who exploited every gimmick of Taft-Hartley until the workers dropped away from the union out of sheer boredom.

One of the most essential amendments I can think of, therefore, is one which will put penalties into the enforcement provisions of the Act. Now, for example, if an employer refuses to bargain, the National Labor Relations Board orders him to do so. The matter can then be appealed for several years through the courts. And the employer knows that when the Supreme Court finally upholds the Board's order to bargain, the only thing that will happen to him is that he will have to "cease and desist" from refusing to bargain.

By that time there is no union left to bargain with, so this is not exactly a penalty which wrings the withers of the employer.

I have a few other strong ideas on the Act. It is unfair to strikers who are not allowed to vote in representation elections, although the scabs who replace them are. Both Eisenhower and Taft have recognized this, so correction seems to be assured. I think the definition of a supervisor (who gets no protection under the Act) as one who has the power, among other things, "responsibly to direct" another employee is too broad.

As a matter of fact, in almost any large corporation there are thousands of foremen and straw bosses who need a union as much as anybody and, before T-H, were joining unions. Since T-H these unions have gone *pffft*. So that provision should be amended, although it probably won't be.

I think, too, that organization of government employees should be protected, as now it is not. And I think that government employees, who are now forbidden to strike, should be allowed to strike if their function is not essential to the well-being of society. I fail to see, for example, how a strike of park attendants and caretakers is going to threaten the community.

I feel that it is a crime to give no protection at all to farm laborers on large industrialized farms, "the factories in the field." This is probably the one group which needs the protection most.

IN general I cannot agree with some of labor's leaders that the Taft-Hartley Act was "a slave labor bill." Malicious perhaps, unjust, vastly irritating and biased, but not quite enslaving. The nearest thing to involuntary servitude was a provision which says that any union may be enjoined from striking for eighty days (the "cooling-off period") in disputes which might "imperil the national health or safety."

I am as conscious as the next man of the recurring national case of nerves when John L. Lewis periodically comes down to the wire without a contract and starts growling, "No contract, no work."

So I am glad that I had a chance to listen the other day to a talk by Professor Archibald Cox of the Harvard Law School, and ask him a few questions afterwards. The man is a specialist on the subject. He speaks with authority.

"Experience and logic," Professor Cox said, "indicate that the eighty-day injunction in national emergencies is unsound. Since passage of the Act in 1947 there have been seven such strikes and seven injunctions. In five the injunction contributed nothing. Either the strike continued in spite of the injunction or was resumed immediately after the eighty days elapsed.

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"In the two other strikes the injunction was positively harmful and simply prolonged the strike. These were the West Coast maritime strike of 1947, when the employers, relying on Taft-Hartley, made no effort to settle, and the long coal strike of 1949-50.

"In the latter, Lewis ordered the miners back to work, the miners refused to go, Lewis was held in contempt and the judge ruled that he was not in contempt. No serious effort was made to end the strike by collective bargaining until Taft-Hartley proved ineffective.

"Labor and management agree because they are afraid of the risks of not agreeing. A law which simply takes the heat off everybody for eighty days is not going to promote a settlement."

Cox favors legislation to give the President three or four alternatives—such as the power to enjoin, to seize, to appoint fact-finders—but which did not prescribe any fixed formula. If neither labor nor management knew exactly what government was going to do when and if it intervened, then the risk of intervention would remain and the pressure would still be on to arrive at a settlement through collective bargaining.

Professor Cox was hopeful that a decent law could be worked out if labor would give up its old dream of being entirely free of government restrictions, and if, in business, the more reasonable employers prevailed. He thought such a law should be built on five basic principles:

1. Complete protection for labor's right to organize.
2. The outlawing of jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts which make employers the victims of fights that are not of their own choosing.
3. Allowance for the differences between industries in general and such special areas as building construction and the maritime industry, where closed shops, hiring halls and other special conditions may be necessary.
4. Free play for collective bargaining, within far wider limits than are presently laid down.
5. Where closed shops are permitted, the protection of Negroes and other minorities in their right to join a union and work without discrimination.

All this sounds very reasonable, but one can't help thinking that the chances of any such law in the year of Our Lord 1953 are slim. What we are much more likely to get is a long wrangle about why no union should be allowed to bargain on an industry-wide or company-wide basis beyond a radius of fifty miles. Congressman Lucas, Democrat of Texas, has already introduced such a bill. In 1947, a similar outrage passed the House and was defeated in the Senate by a single vote.

They will be wrangling for some time, however, and we will have a chance to return to the debate. But it is a painful subject and, as you see, dull.

JOHN C. CORT.

FROM GERMANY

New Forces And New Faces

RICHARD C. HOTTELET

Bonn

IN the past year or so the Western world has come to accept the German Federal Republic as a democratic state, and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's cabinet as a democratic government with a liberal and positive Western policy. But policies and governments change too easily to serve as more than an expression of intent. The character of a country's institutions and the quality of the next generation in public life reflect its political nature much more reliably.

Germany is obviously not being made over on the American, British or French model, although it has borrowed a good deal. The Germans have impressed their own social patterns on new or revived institutions and the result often proves unfamiliar to the foreign observer. But strangeness, even to the point of seeming distasteful, does not make political parties, a parliament, a judiciary, or a trade union organization a sinister influence in the community.

Take the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* as an example. It is to German labor what the AFL, CIO and UMW together are in the United States. The men who founded it after the war tried to profit from the shortcomings of the German labor movement before Hitler. They did not return to the rivalry among different federations and to the open political and religious affiliation of the Weimar period. They decided, on the contrary, to help prevent the revival of anti-democratic forces by uniting and declaring their readiness for preventive action. The precedent they had in mind was the concerted action which helped frustrate the Kapp Putsch in 1920. And they demonstrated their vigilance by calling a one-hour general strike in Hanover late in 1951, after a series of incidents in which neo-Nazis had insulted and burned the flag of the republic. A similar occasion has not arisen since.

Although DGB's opponents in various political issues, notably the problem of co-determination in industry, have accused it of putting brutal pressure on Parliament, the DGB is fully recognized as a democratic force in German life. It organizes a higher percentage of the labor force than the American unions

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do, if that is a criterion, and has gained for its members a stronger voice in the management of industry than that enjoyed by labor in any other country.

The DGB is poison to Communists and right-wing extremists alike, and seems capable of fulfilling the function its founders intended for it, of a political gyroscope stabilizing the working masses and the industrial society which they help shape. But the DGB is far removed from the American conception of an alert and militant union. American labor experts and union leaders tear their hair when they describe the passivity and modesty of German labor. There has not been a major strike in Germany since the war, even though Americans believe that management has been pocketing an outrageous share of expanding profits at labor's expense. The German unions have from the beginning believed that they had to help revive industry and trade by accepting lower wages than those which their strength could have won.

PRESS and radio are among the assets of the young state. They carry their share of drivel, especially the illustrated weeklies, which have published the real or invented memoirs of all the Hohenzollerns and Nazis they could dig up. This lurid diet has now given way to other fads. However, the daily press and the radio networks, particularly the latter, which have no party connections, do a responsible job. They could stand comparison with these media in any country.

Five or six years ago it seemed too much to hope that Germany would make a good beginning so soon. President Theodor Heuss, Chief Justice Höpker-Aschoff and Chancellor Adenauer, and the late Kurt Schumacher of the Social Democrats and Hans Boeckler of the DGB, are entitled to much of the credit. They all emerged from obscurity to tackle what must have seemed a hopeless job.

The younger generation—what the Germans call the *Nachwuchs*—finds part of the spadework already done. Of course these leaders are not so very young either. The really young people, on whom the ultimate survival of German democracy will depend, have hardly appeared on the scene. The age group which is now between thirty and thirty-five was smaller to begin with, being born during and after the first world war. It was cut down further by World War II. The younger people now prominent in politics are over forty for the most part.

Certainly the most interesting and forceful newcomer is Dr. Hermann Ehlers, forty-eight, president of the *Bundestag* and deputy chairman of the CDU (he is leader of the Protestant wing). He presides with patience, firmness and humor, and has helped the *Bundestag* gain steadily in prestige. Few people are as aware as he of the need for an independent legislature, doing its work soberly and responsibly. He insists on good manners and orderly procedure. When a Communist deputy recently persisted in calling a Social Democratic speaker a liar, Ehlers gave him due warning and then had him hauled out of the chamber. There has not been a single riot in the *Bundestag* since Ehlers took the chair, two and a half years ago, although there have been some tense moments.

Dr. Ehlers works hard to bring the *Bundestag* to the people, and vice versa. All of which, incidentally, does Dr. Ehlers no harm. He travels constantly, giving lectures and mending political fences as befits a man who probably shares a widespread belief that he will be chancellor one day.

Dr. Ehlers is new to politics, except for having been on the receiving end of the Nazi dislike for Christianity and independence. He studied political science, went into the civil service and became a judge. At the same time he was active as a lay member of his church. After Hitler came to power he became legal counsellor of the *Bekennende Kirche,* which stood firm against the Nazis, and was in and out of jail a number to times. He was drafted in 1939 and spent the war with the antiaircraft artillery. The war over, Ehlers moved to Oldenburg in the northwest, plunged into church affairs and politics.

There is nothing slick about Ehlers. In appearance and manner he resembles, if anything, an overgrown German schoolboy. He likes to inject compromise into a dispute, but is always ready to speak his mind freely. Occasionally he shocks people by praising the Prussian tradition and advocating a return to its precepts. He explains that what he means is a return to the honesty, simplicity and tolerance which figured in Prussian administration early in the nineteenth century.

The other most important of the younger leaders is Erich Ollenhauer, fifty-two, chairman of the Social Democratic Party. He and his party are better known, and he needs less identification. He has been in the labor movement for thirty-four years and survived Hitler only by emigrating.

Ollenhauer was deputy leader of the SPD and, like all young German socialists, was completely overshadowed by the fanatical integrity and insight of Kurt Schumacher. Since Schumacher's death Ollenhauer has tried to rid the SPD program of much of its fanaticism, without abandoning its principles. He has had considerable success, stating his case with emphasis and conviction. The Schumacher influence has been reduced to proper proportions, and a less shrilly negative approach to current problems has brought the SPD a noticeable lift in the latest elections.

The change in the party reflects Ollenhauer's character. His main feature is an amiable warmth, and people who have worked for him for years say they have never seen him really angry. His personal rela-

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tions with his party, with Allied officials and with the government are much better than Schumacher's were. Whether it is his temperament or an outlook acquired during his years in Britain, where he saw Socialists in a coalition government during the national emergency, Ollenhauer's brand of Marxism is rather more pragmatic. Many neutral observers who would have shaken their heads had Schumacher lived to become chancellor have no such misgivings about the possibility that Ollenhauer may attain that office next fall. He would be the German Attlee.

ANOTHER CDU man who has made a name for himself in the past couple of years, at home and abroad, is Theodor Blank, forty-seven. He is charged with preparing for German rearmament in the framework of the European Defense Community. Even his opponents agree that Adenauer could hardly have picked a better man.

Blank is a self-made man, a carpenter by trade, who was active in the Christian Trade Union movement in the Weimar Republic. When Hitler's labor front took over he was dismissed. He seized the opportunity to go to high school and start a college education. When war broke out he was drafted. Slowly he rose to the rank of first lieutenant in the infantry, serving in Russia and finally in Bavaria. He earned the Iron Cross first class, which will impress some people in his present job; and he retained his dislike for snarling, dictatorial authority, which will bring reassurance to many more.

After the war he returned to the union movement, joined the CDU, and made his way from local politics to the *Bundestag*. He is a direct and energetic little man, a civilian by inclination and shrewd enough to capitalize on these attributes to impress the diplomats and military experts with whom he deals in international conferences.

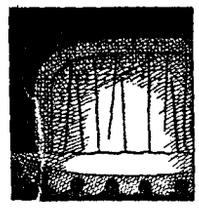
Several years ago Blank was suspected of being overawed by the topnotch military talent which he found or accumulated in his office. These men included Generals Heusinger and Speidel, and assorted lower-grade officers of the line and the general staff. But foreign observers have seen no reason to believe that Blank is dazzled by former brass. As it happens they work remarkably well together; the civilian authority is unquestionably in control; and the product, tentative and sketchy as it is thus far, bears critical examination.

The military planners of the Second German Republic have learned that Germany is small potatoes in modern strategy. It can hope for a civilized existence only in association with the West. Theodor Blank and the government he serves are determined to see that this lesson is not forgotten.

THE STAGE

CAMINO REAL

OF Mr. Tennessee Williams' "Camino Real," and its divisive impact, one must speak with reluctance and difficulty. I have seen it once, and I hope to return again, not for pleasure (the work is never moving, and too eccentric to engage us on any level of emotion but the incidental) nor even clarity, but rather — simplification. For through the offices (good or malign, who shall say?) of Mr. Elia Kazan, the experience of "Camino Real" imposes itself as the product of legerdemain quite as much as that of sensibility.



It invokes a whole scale of response lying well beyond the traditional dramatic perimeter, and as a specimen of theatrical literature, it exists—one might more accurately say, fluorishes luxuriously—within that penumbra of the imagination where fantasy and the actuality of life hopelessly feed on one another. To penetrate to its essential structure—the skull beneath the skin, as it were—one most cut through so many layers of resistant flesh.

Such a crafty connivance of playwright and director renders the critical act difficult, but for the impression conveyed—of a sensibility gone soft and deliquescent at the heart—Mr. Williams must assume a central responsibility. He has sought, worthily, a certain mobility and freedom of form, some strategy by which to circumvent the impasse of the naturalistic theatre. But of the methods at his disposal, it seems incontestable that he has chosen those most willfully arcane, and most disastrous to the positive distinctions of his talent.

In "Camino Real," Mr. Williams has turned from the situations, the natural rhythms and brilliant observation of his earlier work to a fantasia which impresses neither imaginatively nor intellectually. I shall assume that he has intended a kind of parable of the romantic will—in that loose-limbed rhetoric to which he is devoted, "a prayer for the wild of heart kept in cages."

Among those, we must no doubt number Casanova, Camille and Lord Byron, characters who populate on occasion the thin, pale world of "Camino Real." But above all, there is Kilroy, the eternal GI, who has been condemned to this malign place against his will, and is destroyed by it, but who finally—because his heart is literally big as the head of a baby, and pure gold—is redeemed by Don Quixote, that indestructible prince and archetype of all romantic fools.

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Stripped of its embellishments, this would seem to be the imaginative line of Mr. Williams' play. But closer examination discloses the fact that "Camino Real" is essentially a structure of embellishment. Its symbolic gestures are but techniques of escape, subtle evasions of the crucial dramatic task. Casanova, Camille, Don Quixote, Byron: each comes before us bearing a little symbolic tag, harrying, chivvying our attention like barkers at a carnival. We are not permitted to apprehend them gradually, to explore the continents of their personalities. They are imposed quantities in a formula. Mr. Williams will not permit us to proceed (as we should) *through* the fact to the symbol; he has rather set the process in reverse, and the results are chaotic.

The very artifice of these gestures moreover—the profusion of trickery, brilliant and amusing though it is—seems to me to cloak a desperate and involuntary failure of the imagination. "Camino Real" is innocent in the most deplorable sense of that word. Of passion, Mr. Williams gives us nothing, only its counterfeit—and how can the objects of passion seem real when the subjects themselves wither at the touch? For genuine sensibility, there is substituted the soft and fashionable platitudes of the "sensitive" contemporary intellectual.

It would be possible to draw a parallel between "Camino Real" and Mr. Thornton Wilder's "The Skin of Our Teeth," but the relation would hold only in its incidentals: Williams nowhere displays the other playwright's tough humane vitality. He never confronts the alternatives of his world with any genuine moral energy; in the last analysis, he does justice to neither reality nor romance, the imagination nor the fact.

For Mr. Kazan and his company—notably Eli Wallach, Jo Van Fleet, Hurd Hatfield, Jennie Goldstein and Barbara Baxley—one can have nothing but praise. I share the literary bias which finds distasteful so blatant a theatrical emphasis in Mr. Kazan's work, and I doubt that any play of intrinsic merit must resort to so many tactics of diversion. But he remains our most exciting man of the theatre, and his fascination (wicked, Mr. Eric Bentley has shrewdly termed it) has never imposed itself so brilliantly as it has in this production of Mr. Williams latest play.

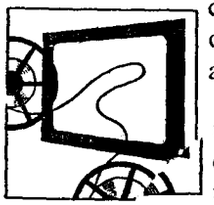
Still, the hard, trite truth persists: that drama is a study of consequences of human acts with only a peripheral relation to fantasy and the naked sensibility. That our most distinguished playwright, one of our best directors and a large portion of the intellectual audience should have conspired in so flagrant a dramatic abortion is, I should say, another tragic illustration of the malign state of our present cultural climate. *(At the National.)*

RICHARD HAYES.

THE SCREEN

FUGUE PLAYED WITH GUNS

HANDSOMELY filmed in Technicolor, "The Naked Spur," set in the Rocky Mountains in Colorado, mixes themes of greed and violence with a touch of romance. Only five persons are in the cast—unless you include the parcel of Indians who attack in one scene and get the worst of it.



Director Anthony Mann, realizing the script's strong points are in its characterizations, wisely doesn't try to make the five either pretty or nice. James Stewart, as a kind of self-appointed sheriff, has followed his quarry into the wilds only because of the reward offered. Millard Mitchell, as a frustrated gold prospector, is guiding Stewart for a fee. They are joined by Ralph Meeker, recently dishonorably discharged from the U.S. Cavalry. Once captured, the man wanted for murder, Robert Ryan, knows his only hope for escape is in getting the greedy captors to fight among themselves. To further the cause of dissension he uses Janet Leigh, the only girl in the party.

For a western, the acting is uncommonly good; also uncommon for a western, the issues are not clearly outlined in black and white. At times the changing patterns in the plot seem contrived, but they are never without suspense.

ANOTHER western obviously made for the adult trade is "The Tall Texan," which also has only one woman in an assemblage of tough males.

When the El Paso stagecoach is attacked by Indians, its ill-assorted occupants are led by an Indian fugitive across the desert. What happens to them is predictable, especially since the film makes its thesis clear at the start: "Men go where there's money to be made—and women go with them." The plot develops along an and-then-there-were-none line. Marie Windsor as the woman who shifts her loyalties, Lloyd Bridges as the Tall Texan on his way back to jail, and Luther Adler as an oily villain handle their assignments well. Director Elmo Williams uses the New Mexico locale magnificently.

THE conflict between an army major who thinks the Seminoles should be wiped out for refusing to move west and a lieutenant who insists that they should be allowed to remain in their swamp country is the theme of "Seminole." Richard Carlson plays the major as if he were Queeg (a role that will be worn out be-

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fore *The Caine Mutiny* ever hits the screen) and Rock Hudson gives the lieutenant as much depth as the fun-loving Rover boy. The plot, like that of most outdoor melodramas, is further complicated by the presence of a woman: Barbara Hale, who is in love with both the Seminole chief (Anthony Quinn) and the handsome, smiling, earnest lieutenant.

ACCORDING to its foreword, "Battle Circus" is a story about the indomitable human spirit. As long as it sticks to its scenes of the Korean War, "Battle Circus" does what it aims to do. But the war themes are very much bogged down by a skittish romance between an army surgeon (Humphrey Bogart) who drinks too much and a nurse (June Allyson) who just can't get him to say whether or not he's already married. He doesn't seem to think it matters—what with death lurking around the corner and all that.

BOB Hope's new comedy "Off Limits" is a mad scramble of jokes, slapstick, satire and fun without let-up or let-down. As a fight manager who enlists in the army when his boy is up for the draft and then is furious when the fighter is turned down as a manic depressive, Hope has competition from Mickey Rooney, as a dumb GI with boxing ambitions, and Eddie Mayehoff, as a non-com who is making a career of the army and takes himself seriously indeed. Decorative Marilyn Monroe assists in the song department and provides the love interest, which isn't taken too seriously.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

TWO APPEALS

Rev. Thomas Rajaretnam, R.C. Mission Church, Papanasam, Tanjore Dist., South India, writes that "The poor people of the low caste who have been hard hit by the famines in the Tanjore District are now harder hit by a devastating cyclone. Their huts have been blown away. Family after family, with pale, bony, naked children totter into my presbytery. When the flock is suffering so much, the shepherd cannot but take up the bowl to beg alms for them."

At St. John Bosco Shrine, Catholic Mission, Cherrapunji, P.O., Assam, India (Rev. Peter Tonello, S.D.B.) "the food situation is improving but our orphans have no shelter at all. They are still homeless. Their sleeping room is a bare floor with bamboo mats. Many fall sick during the monsoon season from the cold and dampness. What I need most at present are the timbers and planks and money to pay the workmen—the cost, $450 in all." Donations for Father Rajaretnam and Father Tonello may be sent direct (Airmail to India: 25c).

THE MONTH

Edited by the English Jesuits

A special issue to celebrate the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II will be published in May. The main contributions include:

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Christopher Dawson

The Coronation of Elizabeth II
Benedict Steuart

Coronation Notes
Sir Shane Leslie, Bt.

The Ceremonial of The Coronation
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COMMUNICATIONS

SIDNEY HOOK

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I did not believe my own eyes when I read John E. Connor's review of *America and the Intellectuals* in the March 20th issue. To state that Sidney Hook "may well be a more important enemy of freedom than McCarthy" and that he is "for shooting the Communists" is preposterous.

S. M. LEVITAS.

Elizabeth, N. J.

TO the Editors: I wish to begin by apologizing for misspelling Professor Hook's name. ["Sydney" instead of the correct "Sidney."] I think this is always rude and I am sorry.

I am unable to decide whether I am or am not sorry about the hyperbole "shooting the Communists." I think a society is in a sad state when people are as sensitive to slander as they are these days, but the fact is that people do feel this way, and that I do recognize this feeling, and that perhaps I should have taken account of it. The phrase had a basis, though, which I think would have been accepted in days less tense.

In reviewing the collection of essays I found it impossible to summarize the content of each contribution. In an effort to characterize the book, I wrote about the two limitations which struck me as I read it—equating "writer" with "intellectual" and excluding radical statements. It was in discussing this second limitation that I made my remark about Professor Hook. My remark was intended to treat of his article only in so far as it considered "dissent," and was not intended to summarize it. I think this was fair in the context. I contrasted Professor Hook to several other contributors who were quite worried about "maintaining an atmosphere in which the dissenter may freely dissent." The hyperbole "shooting the Communists" was intended to present succinctly my scorn for Professor Hook's inability to comprehend what we talk about who concern ourselves with dissent. I would have hoped that no one would conclude from the phrase that Professor Hook—who is well-known—advocated violence. Professor Hook himself exhorts us who fear "our own vigilantes" to have a "sense of humor."

I do believe that Professor Hook's insensitivity to the problem of dissent has often been expressed in the *Times;* thus my word "usual." This insensitivity is implicit in several places in the article in question, but my comment was specifically based on the fourth last paragraph and the third last paragraph. Here he discusses the threat to freedom from the Right and from the Left without ever stumbling upon the fact that worries so many of us. The threat from the Right worries us because it has powerful support financially and great voting strength. In its best (or worst) days the threat from the Left had neither. There may have been, in 1936, "fewer Fascists than there ever were of Communists" but there are several hundred fellow travelers on the Right for each fellow traveler of the Left. I do believe Professor Hook lends intellectual prestige to these Rightist fellow travelers in this article and elsewhere and that these Rightist fellow travelers would still all dissent. I do not believe Professor Hook would still all dissent, only some of it. I do not believe Professor Hook wants to shoot anybody and I don't believe many readers think that I meant that.

Such is my case. . . .

In the event that the point of view from which I made my comment is not already clear, I will admit readily to holding an unpopular opinion about Communists and dissenters in general. I'm in favor of more of them. Further, I am so sure that they will be oppressed by people more numerous and individually more powerful than I that I am willing to battle, in my futile way, for their liberty. Professor Hook has made a famous distinction between heresy and conspiracy which I think it impossible to make in practice; since I think we need more heretics, I'm willing to accept a few conspirators. I firmly believe that speech should be limited only when its result *is* (not *could be*) an unlawful act. This is an unpopular opinion. Obviously one who holds this opinion will not look upon Professor Hook as a political companion. The phrase "usual case for shooting the Communists" was intended as a barb. I find it difficult to believe that many of your readers took it as a literal statement of fact.

JOHN E. CONNOR.

The over-all difference of opinion between Mr. Connor and Professor Hook to the side, it seems to us that Mr. Connor's characterization of Professor Hook's contribution to America and the Intellectuals *was gratuitous and unfair. We therefore extend our apology to Professor Hook.*

THE EDITORS.

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The Ultimate Detachment of a Free Spirit

MY HOST THE WORLD. By George Santayana. Scribners. $3.

By RICHARD BUTLER

WITH the recent posthumous publication of *My Host the World,* George Santayana's three volumes of memoirs are complete: the reflections of a self-styled free spirit upon influential persons and places encountered during a long, interesting and prominent life.

The publisher calls this final memoir "the last thing Santayana wrote." It was not. He completed this work ten years ago (*The Idea of Christ in the Gospels* and *Dominations and Powers* were written later), but he withheld its publication until after his death to avoid any unpleasant reactions, legal or otherwise. The complete memoirs, however, which will be titled collectively *Persons and Places,* best reveal not only George Santayana's life but his philosophy and literary skill as well.

Only two chapters of this final volume, the first and the last, are altogether personal and reflective, reaffirming his characteristic detachment from all persons and places. In between them are remembrances of travels through the Middle East, studious sojourns at Cambridge and Oxford, frequent stays in preferred places such as Paris and Avila, Cortona and Venice, and final retirement in Rome. ". . . In the eternal city I feel nearer to my own past, and to the whole past and future of the world."

His recalled impressions of notable persons are interesting: the Poet Laureate, Robert Bridges ("whose nails were gray and thick, like talons."); the philosopher, Bertrand Russell ("small, dark, brisk, with a lively air and a hyena laugh. . . . Relative to his capacities, he was a failure. He petered out. . . . His outlook was universal, but his presuppositions were insular."); the poet Siegfried Sassoon ("universally informed, with moral chaos and bitterness underneath."); the historian, Lytton Strachey ("*Obscene* was the character written all over him; and his expertness in secret history and in satire expressed that character intellectually.").

Most curious of all, although of least general interest, was Santayana's contradictory attachment to Lord Earl Russell, Bertie's brother, whom he calls "the most interesting of mortals." Too many words are wasted on this singularly uninteresting, oafish, and amoral character. Yet Santayana showed to him a submissive and apparently unreciprocated devotion: "I was a *hors d'oeuvre* in his menu."—a contradiction which he cannot, for the reader, resolve.

The complete memoirs supply the non-technical inquirer with an adequate exposition of the philosophy which Santayana more obscurely and less artfully elaborated in *Skepticism and Animal Faith* and

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Realms of Being. Like most moderns, Santayana as a philosopher was introspective and subjective. Private and personal problems engendered public and philosophical conclusions. Throughout twenty-six volumes, during the course of half a century, Santayana mused aloud in exquisite prose, fascinating Anglo-American intellectuals with the irresistible charm of his rhetoric.

His personal life was not only the cause but also the effect of his philosophical doctrine, the preferred dogmas of a professed skeptic. The perennial student poring over German texts at Cambridge, the retired professor sipping tea at his modest lodgings off St. James, the homeless wanderer scenting the springtime in the Tuileries, the Roman recluse with a nun for a nurse: all are but parts played by a professional solitary. (His beloved sister Susana's late marriage to a widower, the father of six children, left Santayana petulantly protesting what looked to him like escape into conventional security: "She couldn't live her religion as I *lived* my philosophy.")

And so these memoirs must be taken as a whole in order to see the complete picture of the man and the philosopher. For the philosopher's reconstruction of the universe in his own image began, as it customarily does, with the man's moral crisis in youth. The spiritual dilemma of the sensitive high-school boy's ode *To the Pure White Host* (which he never cared, or dared, to receive) was resolved by the freed spirit of the Harvard graduate in his ode *To Nature, Eternal Mother*: "My sins were loth to look upon his face. So came I down from Golgotha to thee."

* * * *

The ironic, and pathetic, final reflection in the concluding chapter (or epilogue) gives this last volume of memoirs its particular title. Here in a few paragraphs on *My Host the World*, Santayana destroys with characteristic contradiction his own philosophy. The philosopher who proclaimed the universe to be an irrational flux and the individual mind to be merely a blind spirit producing its own pictures, bewails what he calls "the first and principal *faux pas*" of philosophy: "The contemporary world has turned its back on the attempt and even on the desire to live reasonably."

The philosopher who professed absolute skepticism and the transcendental nature of knowledge, reducing all cognition to mere "animal faith," proposes two conditions for living rationally:

> First, self-knowledge, the Socratic key to wisdom, and second, sufficient knowledge of the world to perceive what alternatives are open to you and which of them are favourable to your true interests.

The philosopher who professionally denied any absolute or ultimate, any teleological design or moral sanction, complains of the society in which he lived and on which he exercized considerable influence:

> This society lacked altogether that essential trait of rational living, to have a clear, sanctioned, ultimate aim. The cry was for vacant freedom and indeterminate progress: *Vorwarts! Avanti; Onward! Full speed ahead!* without asking whether directly before you was not a bottomless pit.

The philosophical poet, hop-skipping his own subjective philosophy and his own portrayal of man as a blind accident in an unintelligent and unintelligible universe, ascribes two basic causes to the chaotic condition of contemporary society:

> For the virulent cause of this long fever is subjectivism, egotism, conceit of mind. . . . And this militant method of reforming mankind by misrepresenting their capacities and their place in the universe. . . .

* * * *

And so the curtain closes on the retreating figure of a gifted man of our times, a superbly talented poet who constructed a philosophy on the ruins of personal tragedy. The free spirit achieves the ultimate detachment as he leaves the stage, whispering the last line of his valediction: *Things have their day, and their beauties in that day.*

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From beginning to end of this account of the events, ordinary and extraordinary, through which she lived, the author hammers away at the point that it was during the thirty-one years of her married life that Barbe achieved sanctity. It was after the birth of her third child (she had six) that Barbe's husband replaced the *Amadis de Gaule* which he was shocked to find her reading with some suitable books of devotion. In one of these Barbe first read the phrase which struck her like a thunderbolt, "He is indeed a miser to whom God is not enough."

She was twenty-two when she read this and it transformed her life. She was the wife of a viscomte, mother of six children, mistress of a large establishment, celebrated in Parisian society for her beauty, gaity and charm. She did not abandon this world when she embarked upon the mystical way but used it as the means of her sanctification and in so doing became one of the principal agents of the great spiritual renewal in France of the seventeenth century.

Though she disliked and tried to conceal the mystical phenomena which she experienced, Barbe's reputation for charity, sanctity and sound practical judgment spread through the city and through France, and an endless stream of visitors came to her home seeking advice. Her visitors included Bérulle, Vincent de Paul and Francis de Sales, who held her in "infinite respect."

The author keeps strictly to the known truth, the unadorned facts of Barbe's life. There is no fictionizing, no imaginative effort to fill in the details of a life and a century which would have lent themselves only too easily to romancing. From his pages arises a living and very human image of a saint whose greatness sprang from a spiritual principle simple enough for the least of us. Barbe held it for a certain truth that grace and light were given by God principally for people to see what were the obligations of their state in life and that having seen them it only remained to fulfill them.

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Jewish Americans

COMMENTARY ON THE AMERICAN SCENE. Edited by Elliott E. Cohen. Introduction by David Reisman. Knopf. $3.75.

By SEYMOUR KRIM

UNDOUBTEDLY, *Commentary* is the best Jewish magazine in the field today—intellectual, muscular and high-minded. Unlike its rivals, it is not so parochial as to exclude non-Jews from being among its most faithful readers. To be sure, there is a strong amount of special Jewish material in each issue, but this is more than balanced by the scope of the magazine's interests and its cuttingly intelligent articles on subjects from the Bomb to baseball.

Of course there is nothing unusual about a Jewish magazine's interesting Gentiles. American Jews are Americans *par excellence,* with a lively concern for everything that interests the country at large plus a quality of intellectual grit which is not content with easy answers. *Commentary* reflects all of this, and allows none of its readers to get off lightly; the mind is massaged but good when you are finished with one of its issues, and this reviewer has known subscribers who have gone around holding their heads for days afterwards.

But just as Einstein fiddles for relaxation, so *Commentary* fiddles a bit in prose in its department known as "From the American Scene," which is more personal and informal than the rest of the magazine. Not that this department ever becomes quite as homespun as Maggie and Jiggs or The Goldbergs—*Commentary* writers carry their mental burden wherever they go, even to Central Park while playing with the kids. But in this section of the magazine the writers are in a more elegiacal mood, dipping into memory and coming up with more honey than vinegar.

Time heals many things, as Proust has told us, even the burns of a Jewish childhood in communities where it was no joke to have been "chosen." And *Commentary on the American Scene* is composed largely of reminiscences of Jewish childhoods spent all over this country, plus other aspects of Jewish family and working life about which the Gentile reader is probably in the dark. The tone of the whole book is warm and friendly, although individual articles vary in quality; above all is the nice quality of American Jews gathered together in the kitchen, so to speak, and kibitzing about their immediate past in the "continent of Democracy" (as that great kibitzer Walt Whitman called it).

The book begins with a wordy and too-bland introduction by David Reisman, author of *The Lonely Crowd,* which does not enhance his reputation. But once the formalities are out of the way the book gets down to business. The reader gets "inside" reports on Jewish life in San Francisco, Tulsa, St. Paul, Park Forest (Illinois), Spruceton (Massachusetts), Brooklyn, the Bronx, etc. There are also interesting and occasionally sharply-felt articles on such characteristic Jewish professions as the garment worker, the old clothes

INTEGRITY

April issue: Spirit of the Times

- NIHILISM AND THE HATRED OF LIFE
- MODERN MAN IS *NOT* MATERIALISTIC
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peddler, and the *paintner* (more than a house-painter with a Jewish accent—a scamp and a philosopher as well).

In fact, the book taken as a whole does come close to being the "picture gallery" of American Jewish life which Editor Cohen speaks of in his foreword. And for that we should be glad: the best antidotes for ignorance and fear of the Jews are just such humane articles as these, although experience tells us that the people who could be educated by them will probably never see them, or be warmed by any of their rich, yolky substance. Nevertheless they stand solidly as a small testament to American Jewish life, filled with the detail that is as authentic and delicious as the aroma of a kosher delicatessen.

Unfortunately, we must treat the book as literature as well as reportage or a collection of "good will" articles; and in this realm mere factual truth is not enough. To be blunt, most of these articles will not endure because the writing is undistinguished. A warm heart and good mind have never yet made a writer in themselves, although they are valuable human virtues. What is needed is imagination, original perceptions, and the craft to bind the whole into art and make it memorable. And this is lacking, for the most part.

It is probably significant that the best-written articles in *Commentary on the American Scene* are by men who have written fiction, poetry and criticism: Wallace Markfield, Milton Klonsky and William Poster. (One contributor whose other work I am not familiar with, Harry Gersh, also seems to bear the mark of the genuine writer.) The other essays are interesting from the factual and sentimental point of view, but too often they are amateurish and *dull* as writing. This is understandable—it often takes the whole of a man's energy merely to be Jewish in today's world, let alone a writer as well!—but not condonable.

But these final comments should not discourage the reader who would like to understand American Jewish life a little better; he will be taken on an interesting tour by this valuable little book. And should he want to supplement fact with that higher justice which literature alone can give, I would recommend *The World as a Wedding,* by Delmore Schwartz, and *The Common Thread,* by Michael Seide, two short story collections about American Jewish life where fact is pierced by spirit and that ancient will-o'-the-wisp, the truth, more closely trapped.

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REVIEWERS

Rev. Richard Butler, O.P. is a member of the Dominican community at St. Rose Priory, Dubuque, Iowa, and the author of a forthcoming book on Santayana.

Marjorie Crowe Hughes is a free-lance writer who lives in Chemung, New York.

Seymour Krim is a free-lance critic whose work has appeared in the *Partisan Review* and other literary publications.

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